JPRS-ATC-92-006 22 JUNE 1992

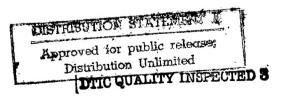


# JPRS Report

# **East Asia**

Southeast Asia Vietnam: TAP CHI CONG SAN No 1, January 1992

19980113 144



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SPRINGFIELD, VA. 22161

## East Asia

### Southeast Asia

Vietnam: TAP CHI CONG SAN

No 1, January 1992

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22 June 1992

[This report is a translation of the table of contents and selected articles from the monthly theoretical and political journal of the Vietnam Communist Party published in Hanoi. Notations in the table of contents indicate articles previously published or not translated.]

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Notice of the Second Plenum of the Party Central Committee (Seventh Term)

00000000 Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 1, Jan 92 pp 3-5

[Published in EAS-91-235, 6 Dec 91 pp 53-56]

## Strive To Implement the 1992 Economic and Social Tasks Well

BK1403144192C Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 1, Jan 92 pp 6-9

#### [Editorial]

[Text] In 1991 we were confronted with numerous acute difficulties: natural calamities occurred repeatedly in almost all areas throughout the country. The turmoils in East European countries and in the Soviet Union caused various economic agreements to abruptly lose their effect. However, we tried hard to prevent major upheavals to the economy and successfuly effected some positive changes in certain aspects.

Grain production continued to develop satisfactorily with grain yield reaching 21.7 million metric tons—an increase of tens of thousands of metric tons over 1990. Worthy of note is that much progress was achieved in the circulation of grain. This helped ease the tight situation of rice supply in certain regions.

Despite difficulties in capital and raw materials experienced in their industrial production, many enteprises and production units, by developing their dynamism and creativity and broadening their joint venture and cooperation, were able to not only maintain but also increase product ion in certain aspects. Industrial ouput value increased by five percent over that of 1990, with central-run industrial output value rising by 16 percent. Many Important products such as crude oil, electricity, coal, tin, steel, phosphate, cement, and the like yielded huge revenue for the budget.

Although there were unexpected changes in the relations with the Soviet and East European markets, our 1991 export value still attained the target and met requirements for importing important materials and goods. This marked a striking progress in switching from one market to another and balancing imports and exports.

Initial improvements in tax policies and tax collection contributed to increasing revenue for the budget. The banking system, which had been reorganized with the forming of various commercial banks, started spurring monetary circulation.

Much effort and progress were also noted in scientific and technological work and in those efforts to renovate technological programs and activities in various fields educational, public health, culural, and social.

Despite the difficult and complex situation in 1991, political stability continued to be maintained and major economic upheavals were prevented, thus creating premises for development in the ensuing year. This has once again affirmed that our party's renovation policy is very correct.

The socioeconomic situation has, however, not been stable and is experiencing complex developments. Inflation is still at a high rate. The gold price and the dollar exchange rate have continued to increase for many months now. The disastrous siphoning of gold and dollars across the border has not been checked. Industrial production has not been stabilized while artisan and handicraft production has continued to decline. Economic growth is still poor, capital accumulation, unremarkable, and population growth rate, still high. The number of unemployed workers have increased. The lives of a segment of people-including people in the mountain regions, salaried people, and those receiving allowances derived from the budget, especially those in areas hit by natural calamities—are still beset with difficulties. Acts of flouting the law and disrupting social order and discipline have developed seriously. The bad practices of corruption, inconveniencing and bullying the masses, smuggling, and counterfeiting goods have hampered production in the country. In addition to the spreading decadent culture and other social vices, the scourge of seeking profits through unlawful and unfair means is giving a headache to the people and arousing public indignation.

There are many reasons for the aforementioned situation. One salient reason Is that there have been lingering shortcomings and loopholes in macroeconomic management. These include the practice of capital subsidy through credit loans, the laxity of currency control, a failure to avert smuggling, speculation, and wasteful use of foreign currencies. Slow efforts have been made to rearrange the state-run economy and renovate the collectively-run economy. Party discipline and state law have not been strictly enforced and worse still, are weak. Efforts to reorganize personnel and the working apparatus have been too sluggish while the abilities and qualities of many public organs and cadres in various sectors and at various echelons are poor.

The renovation undertaking in our country requires that we effect more positive and drastic changes for the better. Only by doing so can we tide our country over its socioeconomic crisis and satisfactorily implement all those tasks laid down at the seventh party congress.

The year 1992 occupies a very important position. This is the most decisive year for us to adjust our economy to an eventfully changing world, maintain and develop our renovation-related achievements, continue to bring renovation to its in-depth dimension, and gradually create socioeconomic stability.

During 1992, we should concentrate on satisfactorily accomplishing those tasks brought forth at the seventh party Central Committee's Second Plenum and the Eighth National Assembly's 10th Session. The following are the specific tasks:

First, we should resolutely dispel and contain inflation and promptly stabilize the national monetary system. It is necessary to basically restructure the state budget. This involves efforts to reoganize the system and methods of balancing the budget, improving the delineation of managerial responsibility over the budget, cultivating financial discipline, and increasing state inspection over financial matters. We should renovate the budget system in the direction of the state's unified control over the budget to suit the situation where the conomy is being switched toward the market system, and should continue to do away with subsidization. We should ensure correct and adequate tax collection in accordance with the tax law and should regard taxation as the main source of revenue for the state budget. We should find new sources of revenue by selling nonproductive real estate property, turning a number of economic units into share-holding ones where conditions permit, correctly and adequately calculating capital depreciation value, etc... In order to increase budget revenue.

We should expand all kinds of insurance and promote greater contributions from the people and from various economic components to developing cultural and social activities. We should resolutely refrain from printing more money to make up for any budget deficit.

We should gradually apply the positive interest rate system and create conditions for banks to carry out business accounting. We should renovate the foreign exchange management system, cool down the craze for buying gold and foreign currency, and prevent this situation from recurrence. We should set up foreign exchange centers where reasonable exchange rates will be offered, which should gradually do away with foreign exchange black-marketeering.

It is Important that trade enterprises belonging to various economic components should do their business in accordance with the law and should scrupulously comply with financial discipline and other rules and regulations stipulated by the state. This is a pre-condition for fighting inflation, stabilizing macro economic management, and safeguarding business activities. This is also a prerequisite for fighting speculation, smuggling, and corruption.

Second, we should gradually improve the socioeconomic growth rate and socioeconomic results. We should concentrate on promoting key sectors and most essential products. We should develop the strength of each area and mobilize to the fullest the capabilities of various economic components for increased production.

We should continue to regard agriculture as the foremost front and should strive to increase the 1992 grain output to 22-22.5 million metric tons mainly through intensive cultivation and multicropping methods for increased output. We should vigorously develop various kinds of industrial crops, especially short-term industrial crops, in accordance with market demands and should promote animal husbandry and aquaculture. We should further deploy our program of carrying out afforestation to regreen bare hills and link forestry-based economic

development with efforts to solve employment, settledfarming, and settled-life problems and to build new economic zones.

We should concentrate on ensuring conditions needed to promptly develop various industrial products essential to the economy such as oil and gas, electricity, cement, fertilizer, steel, mineral ores of all sorts, and those export-oriented products of light industry and the processing industry capable of bringing huge budget revenue. We should rearrange the state-run industrial sector so it can ensure effective operations, develop its core role in spurring industrial renovation, and achieve cooperation and joint ventures with other economic components and provide the latter with development assistance. We should establish combined economic units of all sorts under the form of joint ventures and through the promotion of shareholding and stock buying. We should experiment with expanding in a gradual and steady fashion the promotion of shareholding in state-run enterprises, especially those enterprises with profitable operations and that would attract capital investment. Privately-run industries should also be promoted.

We should step up exports and broaden international economic relations, regarding exportation as a key to the development of our country's advantages in manpower, tropical industrial crops, and mineral ores and as a decisive factor for achieving economic growth, for creating employment for the laboring people, and for meeting the needs for foreign currency to import equipment and raw materials in support of production. A key and decisive factor is that we should rectify and perfect our export-import mechanism and strictly comply with Decision No. 337/HDBT of the Council of Ministers on foreign currency management. We should consolidate various import-export organizations, eliminate intermediary bodies, improve the efficiency of import-export activities, and ensure stable markets for import-export activities.

We should actively build our material-technical bases, make intensive investments, and uniformly modernize various production establishments, especially exportoriented production establishments, where developmental conditions permit while preparing to build a number of key projects as already affirmed in the five-year 1991-95 plan. It is important that we truly renovate our management over capital investment and rearrange the investment structure in the direction of discarding subsidization and effectively concentrating capital investment on targeted projects, while seeking ways to exploit all sources of local and foreign capital investment.

Third, we should resolve a number of urgent social welfare issues.

Ensuring employment is one of the pressing tasks of great political and social importance to be carried out under a unified plan which calls for linking the ensuring

of employment with the implementation of various socioeconomic development programs.

We should harmoniously combine the abilities of the state with that of manpower in solving unemployment. On the basis of developing the multisectoral commodity-based economic sector, every worker should create employment for himself. The state should promptly promulgate a labor law to ensure the people's freedom to work or hire workers. It should also help the people out by opening vocational training schools, offering loans, providing technical assistance, finding markets, building the infrastructure, etc....

A main method for ensuring employment is to absorb locally available manpower into farm production and into the building of new rural areas through the reclamation of wasteland, the promotion of multicropping, the development of stock breeding and support services, and the creation of new trades and professions among the people. We should develop small-scale production and business households and provide employment for urban manpower. We should develop those voluntary youth organizations engaged in economic construction and should find markets for the export of manpower and experts. We should satisfactorily direct the implementation of an EC program on creating employment for repatriated refugees. We should continue to redistribute the population between various regions and should set aside an appropriate budget for resolving the redundancy of workers as a result of streamlining of personnel staffing in the state sector.

With regard to wages, we should gradually discard all subsidies in the wage policy and those irrational disparities in wage payment. Carrying out wage reform should be linked with efforts to fight inflation, renovate welfare policies, streamline personnel staffing, and increase labor output. While the economic situation is still fraught with difficulties, it is hard for us to renovate the wage system comprehensively and completely. This needs appropriate steps. In 1992 we should continue to index price increases to wages so real wages do not shrink. Meanwhile, we should further monetarize wage payments and introduce some fringe benefit allowances into wages. We should adopt a rational policy to help regulate the income and expenses of the people of various strata and to ensure the minimum living standards of salaried people.

We should renovate educational work in line with orientations for socioeconomic renovation so as to improve the people's intellectual standards. We should turn out talented people, build a civilized and wholesome way of life, and fight superstition. We should carry out the program to popularize elementary education and to eradicate illiteracy and should open more schools, both public and private, to meet the actual situation in each locality. We should develop the vocational training network of various economic components; consider renovating academic programs for higher education and vocational middle schools; diversify the form and scope

of training; pay attention to providing training for the existing contingent of cadres, especially for those engaged in the management of production, business, science, and technology; and cultivate and provide additional training for the contingent of teachers at various levels

We should satisfactorily carry out the strategy of providing preliminary healthcare for everyone, especially for women and children and for those in areas inhabited by ethnic minority groups; improve the qualities of physical examination and medical treatment; develop health facilities with financial contributions from the people and the state; and pay more heed to the grassroots public health system. We should carry out the national immunization program, contain and dispel the spreading of malaria and goiter, broaden the coverage of health insurance policies, and improve the hospital fee collection system.

In order to effectively carry out the aforementioned socioeconomic tasks, party committee echelons and all party cadres and members should, with a high determination and a sense of responsibility, demonstrate their patriotic and socialism-loving tradition and their respect for the people's right to mastery. They should motivate the people to uphold a sense of self reliance and self support and to practice thrift in national construction. Especially, state organs should renovate and strengthen their managerial work, further restructure their administrative apparatus and personnel organization, renew and supplement the judicial system, and intensify inspection and control activities. We should promptly stabilize the state's organizational apparatus at various levels, and rearrange the contingent of managerial cadres so as to increase the efficiency of the state's macro socioeconomic management while it is switching to the market system. We should attach importance to the duty of exercising control over the use of national property and should conduct inspection to ensure correct enforcement of various policies and systems. We should resolutely reestablish order and discipline in production and business and in all aspects of the social life. It is necessary to pointed out that given the current situation, reestablishing order and discipline in keeping with the new mechanism is a very pressing demand and also a key factor deciding the success of all tasks, ensuring political stability, and guaranteeing socioeconomic stability and development.

Reestablishing order and discipline in keeping with the new mechanism is a complex, difficult struggle. This will depend not only on material conditions but also on the party's and state's determination and endurance. Every party cadre and member should uphold his vanguard and exemplary spirit, especially when it comes to observing the law and social order and discipline.

We should intensively and drastically carry out the struggle against corruption and smuggling and against the manufacture of immitation goods. We should adopt firm attitude and concrete measures to sternly deal with all those organizations and individuals, irrespective of their positions, found committing these crimes if we are to ameloreate the state apparatus, purify the contingent of cadres, and restore the people's confidence in the party and the state. Reform the State Apparatus and Renovate Party Leadership With Respect to the State

00000000 Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 1, Jan 92 pp 10-17

[Article by Do Muoi; published in EAS-91-238, 11 Dec 91 pp 55-56]

## Contributing To Preserve, Develop Marxism-Leninism

923E0008A Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 1, Jan 92 pp 18-21

[Article by Tran Xuan Truong, professor at the Military Political Academy]

[Text] For more than 70 years, imperialism has constantly been attacking socialism. For a long time, it waged armed aggression and created disturbances to topple socialism. But since the Second World War, particularly during the 1980s, the imperialists have regarded "peaceful change" as the basic formula for eliminating socialism.

The strategy of "peaceful change" is a type of "general warfare." Even though this is not a hot war, it is not a cold war either. Trying to usher in new thinking, do away with the cold war, and create better and better East-West relations, the imperialists have launched an all-round offensive and are coordinating all economic, scientific, technical, cultural, and ideological strengths. In this, the main front is the political and ideological front. They have aimed their attacks against the Communist Party, the nucleus of the socialist political system. They have tried to smash the main element and made an effort to sully Marxism-Leninism, a plot whose purpose is to get us to doubt and then abandon Marxism-Leninism and replace the ideological system of the working class with the ideological system of the bourgeois class. This is a process of creating greater and greater ideological confusion within the Communist Party and among the intellectuals, who have long held a key position in the socialist political system. If this confusion reaches a certain level, it will create organizational chaos within the party and in the political system, lead to a situation in which the people are politically disoriented, and nullify and bind the "hands and feet" of the tools that defend the socialist system, which will be strong but helpless.

The above helps to explain the reason for the rapid administrative changes in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. Those who support those changes claim that these have been "popular revolutions" for democracy and freedom. Actually, with respect to the changes that have taken place in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, large numbers of people have taken to the streets. But those have certainly not been "people's revolutions." They simply show that the attacks by the enemy forces on the political and ideological front are very dangerous. Imperialism has made correct choices and concentrated its "fire power" on the main weak points. Thus, it has shaken some people, shifted the battlefield completely, and done something that it was never able to do during the previous 70 years, even though a great effort was made.

The lesson to be learned from this is that to defeat the imperialists' strategy of peaceful change, we must defeat

that strategy at its main points of attack. We must strongly defend the ideological system of the party and defend Marxism-Leninism.

In defending Marxism-Leninism, the main problem is to defend its basic principles, affirm the practical guiding truths and values of these principles, and oppose the distortions of opportunism. But we cannot stop there. Today, to defend Marxism-Leninism effectively, Marxism-Leninism must be developed and renovated. It isn't enough to simply reaffirm the points made by the classicists. That is because reality, which is very rich and complex, is putting forth many new problems, and to solve these problems, there must be new theoretical generalizations. We can't simply rely on the answers found in the classics. On the other hand, opportunism is raising ideas concerning creativity and making new theoretical generalizations in its own way. These erroneous generalizations are affecting the outlook of the masses. Unless we criticize these and expose the groundless and dangerous nature of these opportunistic viewpoints, Marxism-Leninism will gradually be eroded, and some of the people will waver. We can win victory on the theoretical and ideological front only by further perfecting our theoretical weapons.

In the present situation, the development of Marxism-Leninism must be tied to self-criticism and a reevaluation of Marxism-Leninism with respect to the theories inherited from the classicists. What things are correct and still have a real guiding value? What things were correct during their time but which are no longer appropriate? What things are incorrect or incomplete and must be supplemented? Marxists-Leninists must make "double" criticism. Than is, they must criticize both themselves and those who criticize them. These two processes must be carried on simultaneously. They must be interwoven and have an effect on and be dependent on each other. This will make things more complex and make it more difficult to defend and develop Marxism-Leninism. Actually, "double" criticism is not something new. In criticizing the opportunism of the Second International, Lenin had to reevaluate this and that theory of Marx and affirm or develop and supplement Marx's views. The only difference is that today, opportunism completely rejects Marxism-Leninism, and because of this, the targets and scale of criticism have grown. The scope of the theoretical struggle has expanded in both breadth and depth.

In criticizing Marxism-Leninism, there is a fundamental difference between the criticism of Marxists-Leninists and opportunists. The criticism of Marxists-Leninists is aimed at defending and developing Marxism-Leninism. The criticism of the opportunists is aimed at toppling Marxism-Leninism. The criticism of the first is based on the viewpoints of the working class. It adheres to the Marxist-Leninist world view and to Marxist-Leninist methodology, and it relies on new understanding in order to renovate itself and grow. The other is based on the viewpoints of the bourgeois class, and it uses the theoretical weapons of the bourgeois world view in order

to reject Marxism-Leninism. Unless the targets of criticism are clearly determined, there is the danger of going astray and becoming entangled in ideological confusion.

Some people may worry that if it has been decided that we must defend Marxism-Leninism, with the key point being to base things on Marxist-Leninist viewpoints, doesn't that assume that that theory is correct? And if such an assumption has been made, where is scientific objectivity?

To reevaluate Marxist-Leninist values under the light of the new practices, the disciples of Marx, Engels, and Lenin must restudy their basic ideas in a systematic, serious, objective, and scientific manner. They must fully understand the system as a whole and each of their viewpoints. They must defend the scientific ideological values and, at the same time, discover the shortcomings and deficiencies and rely firmly on the teachings of those people in order to develop those teachings in the new conditions. Only in this way will it be possible to approach the truth. Today, the principles concerning the unity between the nature of the party and the scientific objectiveness of Marxism-Leninism still have value.

A question regarding those who are worried can be posed: If we don't pose the question like this, how should it be posed? We could turn criticism into a process that is not based on viewpoints, doubt everything, and assume that Marxism-Leninism is wrong. But that is the attitude and position of opportunism with respect to Marxism-Leninism. It must be emphasized that the process of searching for and affirming the correctness and scientific nature of Marxism-Leninism in the new historical situation is also a process of fierce struggle to resist the strong attacks of opportunism on the theoretical and ideological front. Carelessness and liberal attitudes could result in the searchers losing their way no matter how pure their motives. On the ideological front today, there is no neutral ground.

Marxist-Leninist assumptions may have shortcomings, but basically, these are correct. These are not a priori assumptions. Actually, relying on these assumptions in order to study and develop Marxism-Leninism is the path with the best hope of approaching scientific truth. As experiences in the theoretical and ideological struggle in the world have shown, being carried away by demagogic slogans in the name of "scientific impartiality," overcoming biased and dogmatic thinking," "freeing individual thinking from the veneration of icons," and so on just lead to a destructive nihilistic attitude, total reactionary negation. This is reactionary, because it creates a void with respect to concepts, and this void will quickly be filled with ideas that are very foreign to Marxism-Leninism. Wasn't Leninism criticized as an erroneous leftist tide in order to promote the ideology of Bechstein and transform it into a new icon?

This is not the first time that Marxism-Leninism has been fiercely attacked. The point worth noting is that today, the rejection of Marxism-Leninism using extremist forms is occurring in places where socialism has existed the longest. With the remorse being expressed by "former Marxist-Leninist scholars," that line of thought could easily fool people and have an ideologically destructive effect, which is something that the anti-communist forces and bourgeois propaganda have never been able to do during the past decades.

Opportunism's criticism of Marxism-Leninism and socialism is characterized by many different viewpoints and attitudes. However, there are two points that the opportunists usually focus on. First, they criticize Marxism for directly controlling production and product distribution and ignoring the commodity-currency relationship. Second, they criticize socialism for giving rise to totalitarianism. These two criticisms coincide with, or to be more exact, they "fill" the orders of the bourgeois policies. The socialist nations must switch to a bourgeois type market economy and implement democracy and pluralism.

Based on this, opportunism hopes to easily sully Marxism-Leninism and eliminate all the basic themes of Marxism-Leninism. Sneering at and ridiculing Marx's ideas on measuring labor directly by time and not using value forms but using "labor coupons" that can be taken to the social storehouses in order to obtain products, the opportunists have reached a dangerous conclusion: Marxism is just a utopian system that replaces one utopia with another. Distorting the conceptual contents of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the class nature of democracy, the opportunists have made demagogic arguments concerning the eternal aspirations of man and concerning democracy and freedom. They say that the idea of a dictatorship of the proletariat does away with democracy, tramples on the fundamental rights of people, and spawns totalitarianism.

Opportunists use not only theoretical arguments but also the psychological warfare methods of anti-communism. Relying on a number of real shortcomings of socialism, which everyone is aware of and which are being corrected, they exaggerate things, raise issues, and make distorted comments. According to their explanation, world socialism as it has existed for more than 70 years is just a reactionary system that must be condemned. The socialist countries are countries whose economies lack any vitality because of the appalling management mechanism, where the people's standard of living is declining, and where society is undemocratic, resembling a "military camp" in which officials enjoy special rights and privileges and the people are exploited and oppressed ideologically and live in constant fear of arrest and imprisonment. Through the mass means of communication, they constantly work at creating a negative political and social psychology, from pessimism, wavering, and a decline in confidence in the social ideals that have given meaning to the lives of hundreds of millions of people for many years to hatred toward socialism and the illusion of a better future thanks to changing the direction of social development.

In such a social atmosphere, the opportunists can easily make public declarations rejecting Marxism-Leninism. They say that the theory on class divisions, class antagonism, and class struggle and on the struggle between capitalism and socialism is no longer in accord with actual life in modern societies. In the Western societies today, capitalists can't be distinguished from hired laborers, because everyone is an owner who holds shares in enterprises. And because of this, there is no exploitation of surplus value. Today, in the West, the development of civilization has led to a narrowing of the gap between the various strata of people in terms of their standard of living. The great majority of the people earn enough to satisfy their needs. The opposition between intellectual and manual laborers and between the urban and rural areas is waning. Thus, the dream of Marx, Engels, and Lenin regarding the communist society of the future is becoming a reality. And because of this, social development today does not require a revolution. There is no need to topple capitalism. All that is necessary is to carry on reforms within the framework of the state and modern civilization and further expand democracy and freedom for each person. And so on and so on.

What can be said about these arguments advanced by opportunism? First, the opportunists have gone even farther than the professional bourgeois thinkers in apologizing for capitalism. They have been more "royalist than the king." Grief is necessary for traitors. But the bourgeoisie and their underlings have not dared to deny the conflicts between the bourgeoisie and the hired laborers or the gap between rich and poor in capitalist society. There is a simple reason for this: They cannot deny what is clear in reality. All they can do is try to conceal things and explain the truth in a way beneficial to protecting capitalist order. Second, the opportunists have used dishonest stratagems on the theoretical front. Although their conclusions concerning the transformation of modern societies still need to be verified and explained, they have simply been imposed on society by using clever psychological means and by borrowing the concepts of bourgeois thinking in praise of capitalism. That is, during the past several decades, there have appeared concepts concerning a "consumer society," a 'post-industrial society," a "welfare state," and "convergence theory." They are just followers with "book learning" as compared with communists who have actually

lived in capitalist society. The excellent opportunists can hawk the Western social paradise only to their own people, who know the West only through books. At one time, publications described the West in the blackest terms, but under the guidance of the opportunists, the West has now been portrayed in glowing terms, which has created destructive illusions about a new "promised land."

Thus, the criticisms leveled by the opportunists against Marxism-Leninism are theoretically shallow. They are good only in using demagogic rhetoric and specious reasoning when discussing a number of practices of capitalism and socialism. Naturally, in saying this, we cannot belittle the role of theoretical work or the difficulties in protecting and developing Marxism-Leninism. The difficulty is that social life is developing very rapidly and becoming more and more varied everywhere in the world. This is posing many questions for Marxism-Leninism, and answering those questions is very difficult. At the same time, answering those questions in such a way that will prove persuasive to the working people will decide the historical fate of Marxism-Leninism.

We believe that with the brilliant and just revolutionary and scientific nature of Marxism-Leninism and with the wholehearted effort and cooperation of the disciples of Marx, Engels, and Lenin throughout the world, Marxism-Leninism will pass the tests and enter a new stage of development. In this new stage, Marxism-Leninism must solve not only the general problems for social movement throughout the world but also the special historical problems of each region, nation, and people. That is a new direction of development that will increase the vitality of Marxism-Leninism and enable it to become invincible.

#### On the Order of Marxism-Leninism

00000000 Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 1, Jan 92 pp 22-25

[Article by Le Trung Nguyet; not translated]

#### Man—The Central Problem of Social Policy 00000000 Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese

No 1, Jan 92 pp 26-29

[Article by Hoang Chi Bao; not translated]

The Sphere of the Individual

00000000 Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 1, Jan 92 pp 30-34

[Article by No Ngoc Dai; not translated]

Bank Interest and the Market Mechanism

00000000 Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 1, Jan 92 pp 35-38

[Article by Pham Ngoc Phong; not translated]

## Some Fundamental Issues Concerning the Constitution

923E0008B Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 1, Jan 92 pp 39-41

[Article by Dao Tri Uc, Ph.D. in jurisprudence, director of the State and Jurisdiction Institute, Institute of Social Sciences]

[Text] 1. The constitution in Vietnam's legal system:

In the legal system of every country, the constitution, whether in written form or not, has great political significance and is the supreme law of the land.

The various articles of the constitution form a united whole. In this, the various groups of problems that are closely related to each other by the nature of the relationships are organized to form various regulations. Our constitution contains the following basic regulations:

- a. Regulations on the nature of political power in society and the special characteristics of the social system and state. Regulations on the political system (Chapter I), on the economic system (Chapter II), on social policies and policies in the cultural, educational, scientific, and industrial spheres (Chapter III), and on defending our socialist fatherland (Chapter IV).
- b. A determination of the legal position of man in society, and legal relationships concerning rights, obligations, and responsibilities between society, the state, and citizens (Chapter V).
- c. Regulations on the organizational structure of the state, the system of state organizations, and the legal relationships between the various organizations within a unified power mechanism (Chapters VI-X).

The reason why the constitution plays such an important political role and has such a high legal position is that it is the backbone of the entire legal system. It is the legal framework that defines the social model and state system with principles, mechanisms, and standards in order to build and operate the state apparatus and affirm, ensure, and protect the rights of citizens and the economic, political, social, and cultural freedoms of people. Formulating and constantly perfecting the constitution is the most important step in building a jurisdictional state. This is because in building a jurisdictional state, the decisive condition is to have a legal system. And in this system, the constitution plays a guiding role and stimulates social development and progress.

2. The need to revise the constitution and basic view-points on this:

The resolution passed by the National Assembly on 30 June 1989 stated that it is necessary to revise the constitution in a basic and all-round way. The second plenum of the party Central Committee (seventh term) again affirmed the need to do this and pointed out basic viewpoints and guidelines on revising the constitution,

reforming the state apparatus, and renovating the party's leadership with respect to the state.

Revising the constitution in general or specific articles and stipulations of the constitution is not something that can be done in an arbitrary or spontaneous manner. Instead, this must be done within the framework of the profound and all-round renovation process started and led by the party. The constitution has scored achievements and created a strong legal foundation for renovating the various aspects of social life.

The constitution has two manifestations: the actual constitution and the legal constitution. It will be a real constitution when its stipulations correctly reflect social reality. The stipulations of the constitution can be correct legally (de jure), but incorrect in reality (de facto) and conversely. These two circumstances can have destructive effects.

In the past, it's not that the state did not have legal stipulations and economic and socioeconomic policies. But in many cases, those stipulations were too "declarative" in nature. They did not have an adequate scientific basis or fully consider the conditions for implementation. For example, Article 9 of the 1959 constitution and Article 15 of the 1980 constitution both mention "building a society with a modern agro-industrial economy and a progressive culture and science and technology." Article 11 of the 1959 constitution and Article 18 of the 1980 constitution mention the task of "establishing and solidifying the system of socialist ownership of the means of production in order to have a national economy composed primarily of two elements, state economic elements belonging to all the people and cooperative economic elements owned collectively by the laboring people."

The realities of the past several years have shown that the multi-faceted economic structure with pluralistic ownership is still the long-term basis in the process of developing our society. Thus, the constitution and all the other laws must recognize this characteristic of our country's economy, clearly determine legal positions, and have suitable policies for each element within a unified economic structure.

In the other spheres, particularly the regulations on policies and the state apparatus, in revising the constitution, one of the goals must be to stimulate economic and social development. This must be done based on: a. correctly evaluating the achievements in implementing the rights of the people, in organizing the state, and in using our political laws; and b. overcoming the weaknesses in these laws.

The most striking achievement of our state in the past 45 years is the affirmation in reality of the "powerful and wise regime of the people" and the fact that the leadership and prestige of the party have been voluntarily accepted by the people. Moreover, the people are gaining a better and better understanding of their position and ownership rights. The laborers have participated to

varying degrees in managing the state, the economy, and society. There is the presence of a system of state organizations from the central echelon to the localities, and there are the organizational experiences and practical activities of these organizations. There are ranks of political, managerial, and professional cadres who have much experience.

Revising the constitution reflects a new development step in building the state. At the same time, this represents a new understanding and new achievements of science, particularly of political, legal, managerial, and other sciences. For example, in legal science (political science and law), we are gaining a deeper and deeper understanding of the role of the state as an organization that implements public rights, with the unified subject being the people, with a clear division of functions, the activities of the forms for implementing the rights, and coordination between those forms. This understanding will allow us to overcome the influence of immature concepts on the "rapid withering away" of the state and the sudden transfer of state functions to the economic organizations and mass organizations and to correct the incorrect concept of "no state involvement" in many management spheres which can and must be the function of the state. This will led to building a unified and complete state and administrative management system in every social activity. A unified administrative system is not synonymous with bureaucratic and administrative management formulas and methods. Instead, this will allow us to overcome bureaucratism, arbitrary actions, and abuse of power.

In the sphere of law, the new understanding about the characteristics, regulatory functions and mechanisms, and social values of the law allow us to see more clearly the need to gradually organize the state based on the law, establish mutual legal relationships among the state regulations, democratize the process of formulating laws, build a mechanism for formulating laws, and monitor things to see if those laws are being obeyed.

Finding and overcoming the weaknesses in the organizational elements and operations of the state apparatus is one of the targets that must be hit in revising the constitution. Along with the socioeconomic, ideological, educational, and technical measures, revising the constitution will have an effect on mechanisms, organizational elements, jurisdiction, functions, and tasks. And because of this, this will enable the state apparatus to become a tool in carrying on economic and social renovation more effectively.

In order to do this, the constitution must satisfactorily handle several relationships: between centralized and unified rights and a division of labor, with coordination among the state power organizations; between the professionals (full-time) and the representatives in the system of state power organizations; between the individual and the collective; between centralization and administration and self-management; and between concentration of powers and dispersal of powers.

Correctly defining the above relationships and finding the rational elements in the above pair categories is to find "unity within conflict." Determining what is rational can only be done by relying on the principles having to do with the nature of the state and the special characteristics of our country's political and economic systems. For example, when talking about the relationship between concentration and dispersal of powers, it is impossible not to talk about the nature of power: Who is the subject of state power, and what methods do those subjects use to implement their powers?

Our country's constitution affirms that "in the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, all power belongs to the people." (Article 6) Our society does not have castes to "divide" power such as existed in Europe when the division of power theory came into being. And we do not have political powers "on stage" and "backstage" as in the United States and Japan to control each other with respect to power and pass laws on power.

The political power of our people is implemented with the framework of the state and outside the sphere of the state through the party, social and mass organizations, and direct and independent democratic forms. Within the state framework, "the people implement their powers through the National Assembly and various-echelon people's councils that have been elected by the people and that are responsible to the people." (Article 6 of the 1980 constitution)

Thus, our "division of powers" is not like that in other countries. Our state has three spheres of operation and three main functions: legislative, administrative, and judicial functions. But these three powers (centralized) belong to the National Assembly, the highest representative organization of the people—the unified and only subject of state power. The reason why the bourgeois theory and practice of "separation of powers" has not been used in Vietnam is that according to this theory, "separation of powers" means "division": the legislative organizations have no power to interfere in management and administration, and the administrative organizations do not have capabilities to positively influence the legislative process.

Thus, when defining the judicial position of organizations such as the National Assembly, the organizations that act on behalf of the National Assembly, the head of the Council of State, the government, and Supreme Court, and the director of the Supreme Organ of Control, we cannot mechanically apply laws like those in other countries having a different system. Because if the separation of powers principle is different, the legal relationships and positions of these organizations will be different. Saying this does not mean eliminating the capabilities for applying the rational factors in the organization and operations of the bourgeois state organizations. Lenin often mentioned the need to coordinate the "advantages" of the parliamentary system, such as the experiences in formulating laws, organizing debates in

parliament, controlling and monitoring each other, providing information to support the representatives, and so on.

Just as in renovating the political system in general and the state apparatus in particular, in our country, revising the constitution is aimed not only at strengthening the state and its apparatus but also at creating a new legal foundation to strengthen the preconditions and the democratic and humanitarian values of our society. The path pointed out by President Ho Chi Minh and our party and that our people have been following ever since the Vietnamese state was first established is the path of gaining mastery, studying mastery, and forming and expanding the capabilities of citizens.

The constitution will clearly affirm the nature of the people and the jurisdictional nature of the state. Above all, the constitution will stipulate more clearly and fully the rights and obligations of citizens. The state solemnly respects the basic rights of our people, rights that are guaranteed by law. Outside the law, no one has the right to arbitrarily give themselves or others special rights. No one can stipulate additional civic obligations or arbitrarily impose limitations or make illegal contributions that affect the interests of the people. To bring about these mutual relationships concerning rights and obligations between the state and citizens and among citizens and to define the legal basis for the organization and activities of the state and social organizations and for the mutual relationship between these organizations, the constitution will lay a strong legal foundation for the stable and wholesome development of society.

## Through the Second Round Party Organization Congresses at Various Echelons

923E0008C Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 1, Jan 92 pp 42-44

[Article by Mai Tiep, specialist with the Administrative Office of the CPV [Communist Party of Vietnam] Central Committee]

[Text] By December 1991, the entire country had basically completed holding primary, district, and city-level congresses, and many provinces had concluded the second-round congresses at these three levels. Comparing the requirements and guidelines of the Secretariat on organizing second-round congresses at the various echelons, we can make a number of initial observations:

1. In order to improve and unify understanding and contribute to establishing a basis for discussing the political tasks and choosing new party organization executive committees with adequate capabilities, qualities, and intelligence, prior to opening the congresses, the party committee echelons, from the provinces to the bases, took steps to ensure that the cadres and party members thoroughly understood the basic viewpoints of the the resolution of the seventh party congress. A number of provincial, city, ward, and district party committees resolutely refused to open congresses at a

number of bases that had not dealt with and solved the negative aspects and lack of solidarity within the party. The reports issued prior to the congresses were prepared carefully, particularly at the provincial and municipal levels. Steps were taken to obtain the widespread views of the key leadership cadres at their echelon and in the central organizations and from former cadres, scientific and technical cadres, and managerial cadres in the mass organizations.

In addition to the all-round problems in leadership, the reports issued at many congresses, particularly at the ward, district, and provincial echelons, defined the basic guidelines more clearly and designated the points on which guidance must be concentrated. Defining a province as an industrial-agricultural or agro-industrial, agroforestry or agro-forestry-fishing, or industrialcommercial-service province was not done based on emotions but based on reviewing the labor, analyzing the potential, and predicting development in the coming years through mobilizing the integrated strength of the economic elements, the material and technical base, the infrastructure, and the cadre ranks. Based on affirming that we will hold to the socialist path and maintain the leadership of the party, party building was discussed in a rather concrete and profound manner. Ideological work was discussed from many angles, and various measures were discussed. Organizational and control work focused on: resolutely reorganizing the party, actively solidifying the party bases, actively renovating leadership style, carrying on cadre and party member work well, and building ranks of talented and intelligent party members having good political quality.

Preparing the party committee echelon staffs was carried on democratically and votes of confidence were taken ahead of time at various echelons and at the directlysubordinate organizations. After the congresses got underway, people were nominated for positions openly and democratically and so ballots were concentrated. This was the first time that party committee congresses were held in accord with the new statutes, but the congresses did things properly, and there were few violations of the law. In general, the party committee echelons elected at these congresses truly represent the activities of each party organization with the right numbers and in accord with the needs and special characteristics of each locality and unit. Based on the statistics compiled in many provinces, the percentage of new comrades participating at the provincial and municipal party committee echelons ranges from 27 to 55 percent, with the average being approximately 40 percent. The percentage of party committee members with college or advanced professional and technical standards ranges from a low of 13.3 percent to a high of 98 percent, with the average being 61 percent for the party committee echelons as a whole.

At many congresses, the discussions of the documents were carried on well. There was an atmosphere of democracy and renovation within the party. Prior to the congresses, the delegates were able to study the draft reports that had been revised after gathering the ideas of lower-level congresses and the reports integrating the ideas contributed by the lower-level congresses and by the people, sectors, and various circles. At the congresses, the delegates had the time to think and contribute ideas regarding the main problems of the congress. Many ideas were expressed at the congresses, and these were vigorously debated. Among these, there were two subjects that were discussed in great detail. With respect to the economy, many people concentrated on defining the key points and stressed that even though the economic structure of a province is agriculture, production must still be commodity production. Many congresses regarded the processing industry as an important task in order to raise product value and create consumer markets. For the cities and urban wards, besides deciding that the economic structure is industry, services, and commerce, the delegates clearly portrayed the problem of managing the cities, particularly the problems of managing communications, maintaining order on the sidewalks, managing land allocation, and repairing and remodeling the houses. In the mountain provinces, the ideas were concentrated on resolutely integrating the mountain economy with the market economy and solving the social problems for each ethnic minority and population zone. As for party building, many delegates talked about the struggle against corruption, extortion, dogmatic work methods, laxity in making criticism and self-criticism, and the disorganization in party activities. They felt that failing to solve these problems could lead to a decline in the party and result in the people losing faith in the party. Many comrades affirmed that if the masses lose confidence in the party because of the bad examples set by party members and their degraded nature, we will have lost everything.

These second-round congresses made renovations and progress, and in general they achieved good results with respect to the targets: intelligence, democracy, discipline, and solidarity. This shows that the CPV [Communist Party of Vietnam] Central Committee provided concrete and timely guidance. The party committee echelons seriously fulfilled the requirements and implemented the formulas of higher echelons for carrying on the congress. What confirms this is that the standards of the party members at the primary level were raised somewhat. The political concepts and spirit of responsibility of the party committee echelons and delegates attending the congresses were elevated.

2. The second-round party organization congresses exposed a number of problems that must be examined and studied:

A number of party organizations have not adhered closely to the resolution of the seventh party congress or applied it concretely to their party organization. The political reports of a number of party organizations issued prior to the congress were rather general and simply copied the viewpoints and tasks of the above resolution. They did not mention the specific tasks and

methods of their party organization. These reports talked a lot about a multifaceted economic structure, about reorganizing production, and about changing the form of ownership, but the policies, measures, and steps for doing these things were very short and general in nature. In each province, ward, and district, there are usually many economic elements and many forms of ownership, particularly in a state economy having central and local economic bases, which are directly subordinate to the leadership of the local party organizations. But when talking about these economic elements, many places talked only about the local economic bases. If they did talk about the central economic bases, all they did was mention some figures. The above situation has led to economic divisions based on territory and made it impossible to exploit the strengths of the various types of economies or reorganize production based on sector in order to concentrate investments and improve production results. Thus, the state must soon implement a clear sector management mechanism and eliminate divided management and the lack of coordination between ministries and localities. The shift in the economic structure and the formation of a multifaceted commodity economy were affirmed, but there was little discussion concerning organizing the varied cooperative forms of various sizes of the economic elements, particularly in the service sphere. The problems concerning land, production management, democracy, and the people's standard of culture are pressing problems in the rural areas, but few concrete proposals were made for solving these problems.

In party building, the problems concerning ideological work, party reorganization, and opposing negative phenomena were discussed quite a bit, but the problems concerning party chapter and party member activities and adhering to and leading the masses were discussed very little. At a number of congresses, some people frankly stated that the regular party chapter meetings are usually held just in order to fulfill the stipulated responsibilities. But no attempt is made to deal with the dull topics, ideological and organizational problems, work behavior of the party members, or internal solidarity. There was much discussion about corruption, paternalism, and factionalism, but the discussions were very general. The delegates did not cite concrete manifestations in their own party organizations or party chapters.

In a number of places, including the provincial and district echelons, because of the lack of internal solidarity, the party committee echelons did not make good staff preparations and so the party committee echelon elections did not proceed as had been hoped, and this created difficulties for assigning tasks in the new executive committees. In a number of village, agency, and enterprise party organizations, some party members are unwilling to participate on the party committees.

Some places, particularly at the primary level, have not made a serious effort to obtain the opinions of the masses outside the party regarding political tasks or party committee echelon human affairs.

After the Secretariat issued Notice 2, discussions at many congresses made progress. But in some places, the discussions continued to focus on evaluating the situation. Few proposals were made on how to solve the problems, and there was little discussion on clarifying and unifying views on a number of important issues. At many congresses, people simply read prepared speeches.

The above shortcomings are due in part to the fact that the party committee echelons do not have a deep understanding of the general viewpoints and lines of the Seventh CPV Congress. But this is also due to a psychology of dependence, a fear of difficulties, doing things just for the sake of appearance, and a lack of real understanding of the guidelines of the Secretariat.

- 3. The second-round party organization congresses in the provinces and cities have basically concluded. Even though there are still various shortcomings, the initial successes of these congresses are of great significance. The resolutions of the new congresses provide general guidelines and measures. If these resolutions are to be implemented in daily life and change the situation in coming years, the important thing is to start with the party committee personnel elected at the congresses and assign tasks rationally in accord with their capabilities and talents and clearly define their responsibilities. After that, the committee echelons and various echelon authorities must, based on the congress resolutions and realities in the localities and at the bases, concretize things using action programs and long- and short-term programs. In controlling the implementation of the congress resolutions, a basic and chronic shortcoming, that is, the failure to make preliminary summaries and review things, must be overcome in order to have timely measures to exploit the good aspects and overcome the weaknesses. Whether a resolution is implemented quickly or slowly depends to a large extent on the leadership role of the party committee echelons and the model vanguard nature of the cadres and party members. Because of this, each party committee echelon must immediately begin reorganizing the party and renovating leadership styles and work methods.
- 4. The various echelon party organization congresses are important political activities of our party and people. The successes and limitations of the second-round party organization congresses have given us useful lessons.

The party congresses were carried on in an intelligent way, there was an atmosphere of democracy, solidarity, and discipline, and these had a great impact on the psychology of the entire party and all the people and generated confidence and revolutionary tendencies among the masses. Thus, it is essential to have timely and correct guidance from higher-echelon party organizations, and each party committee echelon must show initiative and adhere to the party building principles.

Based on the ideas contributed by the people and delegates at the congresses, we can see that the people have

faith in the leadership line of the party central committee. They believe in the nation's path forward. But the people are also very worried and concerned about the shortcomings and weaknesses in the leadership of specific party organizations. The people have made suggestions for dealing with many of the problems. The party committee echelons must study these, accept the correct ideas, implement positive measures, soon enable the party's resolutions to be implemented in daily life, and satisfy the needs and hopes of the people.

## Population Issue and Population Education in Vietnam

923E0008D Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 1, Jan 92 pp 45-47

[Article by Vu Ngoc Binh, research cadre, Vietnam Institute of Education]

[Text] 1. In 1991, Vietnam's population was 67.5 million people, which was 13th in the world and 7th in Asia. Thus, during the past 60 years (1931-1991), our population has increased by 50 million people, almost quadrupling. Looking at the time it takes for the population to double, it can be seen that the time has constantly shrunk: From 17 million people in 1931, it took until 1965 for the population to double to 34 million people. But it took only 30 years for the population to increase from 20 million in 1940 to 40 million in 1970 and only 25 years for it to increase from 30 million in 1960 to 60 million in 1985. Each year the population is increasing by more than 1.2 million people, which is the present size of the population of an average province.

It is very difficult to implement an effective economic development plan if the population density is high and constantly increasing as it is in Vietnam today. Economists and demographers have put forth standards to to ensure the survival of people in today's scientific and technical conditions. Each person needs 2.5-3 hectares, which translates to a population density of approximately 35-40 people per square km. In 1990, the world population density was 39 people per square km. In the developed countries it was 21 people per square km, in the undeveloped countries it was 51 people per square km, and in Vietnam it was 199 people per square km. With the present rate of growth of the population, Vietnam's population density will rise even higher in coming years. (It is predicted that by 1995, the figure will be 220 people per square km, by the year 2000 it will be 240 people per square km, and by the year 2025 it will be 326 people per square km.)

2. Economically, the growth in the population will have positive effects on a number of fronts. First, this will enable us to have a better division of labor and create favorable conditions for implementing the major investment plans requiring many laborers. Second, this will create a large consumer market and stimulate the development of commodities and the lowering of product production costs. Countries with a population of at least

20 million people are ideal markets. Third, this will contribute to increasing the flexibility of the economy, because the percentage of young laborers will increase. This will also open up favorable conditions for reforming the economy, applying science and technology, and opening new sectors.

3. In Vietnam's situation, the rapid increase in and uneven distribution of the population during the past several decades have exceeded the national economy's capacity to absorb these people. This has become a heavy burden, put great pressure on all aspects of life—food, housing, travel, environmental protection, recreation, health care, security and order, and so on-blocked attempts to implement the economic and social development programs, and contributed to the serious decline in the quality of the material and spiritual lives of the people. The rapid population increase has created many difficulties for developing and spreading education and eliminating illiteracy, even though we have scored great achievements on this front during the past 50 years. Because another 1.7 million children are being born each year, this means that we must have another 5.2 million square meters of housing, 6 million meters of cloth, 360,000 tons of grain, 30,000 classrooms with 45,000 instructors, 3,600 hospital beds, and jobs for 1 million people reaching work age. The national income is increasing slowly today, and as we know, this is one of the reasons why the health of our children has declined to an alarming degree. About 14-21 percent of the children born weigh less than 2.5 kg (10 percent or less is the rate allowed). About half of the children below the age of five are malnourished or blind because of a lack of vitamin A. The rapid increase in the population has and is creating difficulties for improving living conditions and providing jobs, making the social evils even worse, causing the farming area to decline, and causing serious destruction to our environment and natural resources.

4. Clearly recognizing the negative effects of rapid population growth, since the 1980s, the party and state have set struggle targets to lower the growth rate to 1.7 percent, but this target has not yet been hit. This had to be continued on into 1990. But once again, we missed the target. There are many reasons for our failure to fulfill the norms of the population growth rate reduction plan. But one of the main reasons is that when plans are formulated, the socioeconomic situation is not viewed in total and the internal dynamics of population growth and decline are not seen. Reality has shown that to lower the population growth rate, when formulating plans, we cannot ignore the following main factors:

First, the historical view still prevalent is that the strength of a family is measured by the number of people, particularly the number of sons. Surveys have shown that in the rural areas, 78.6 percent of the families want to have three or more children, no family wants to have just one child, 79.8 percent said that it is essential to have sons, and 80 percent said that not having any heirs is a terrible misfortune. There has been little

decline in the bickering among the households, branches, families, hamlets, and villages in the rural areas.

Second, the population has increased in compensation since the war. This is compensation for the losses suffered by each family. If the war divided families, peace is now reuniting families. After the war, the number of marriages increased and, because of this, births have increased. In China, after the 1949 revolution, there was a population explosion (during the period 1950-1957, the population increased by an average of 11.1 million people a year). After the Second World War, in Japan, the population increased very rapidly (at a rate of 3.1 percent), forcing the government to implement a family planning program. In Vietnam, since 1931, the period 1955-1960 witnessed the greatest population increase (3.77 percent). By 1986-1990, the girls born during that period had become the main force behind the population increase, because by then they had reached the age at which most women give birth. By 1989, these women were in the 26-34 year old age group. There were 4.7 million women in this group, of whom more than 4 million were married. They gave birth to almost 12 million children. The births to the women in this age group will continue to affect the population growth rate to the year 1995 and even to the year 2000.

Third, the population structure in our country has a special characteristic. That is, most of the people live in rural areas and are engaged primarily in the cultivation of wet rice. Of the 13 million households in our country, more than 10.5 million live in rural areas. Because the elderly in our country still have to rely mainly on their children and because society is not something on which the elderly can rely, rural families continue to have many children. On the other hand, the rural families live in small groups where the economy is self-sufficient and the villages are isolated. Thus, their level of understanding is limited, their needs with respect to living conditions are not high, and the cost of having and raising children is not high. Because of this, they can have many children, which leads to a rapid increase in the population.

Fourth, with respect to population and family planning policies, we still lack suitable economic and social policies. Some places are using rigid administrative measures, but this is having just the opposite effect. Besides this, there are still weaknesses in supplying implements to prevent pregnancy. Things are not done regularly, and there are few options. Propaganda activities and activities to provide information and get people to understand family planning have not been carried on widespreadly. The tendency in our country is to turn family planning into a public health issue. But actually, this is a social problem.

In order to ensure that the population and family planning program achieves results, suitable amounts of money must be invested. In Vietnam, in recent years these activities have had to rely on the small amount of money provided to the public health sector and the aid provided by the United Nations Fund for Population

Activities (UNFPA). The \$50 million provided since 1978 has been allocated for many different plans. Given our country's present population, to reduce the growth rate by 0.1 percent a year, we will need approximately \$40-50 million a year, that is, about \$0.50-1.00 per person per year (we are now spending about \$0.10 per person per year).

5. The experiences and practices in population and family planning work in our country show that administrative, economic, and public health measures are all very important, but these can only manifest an effect if population education is carried on well in the schools and in society. Population education holds first position in the five main measures for carrying on population and family planning work in three environments: school, family, and society.

This is a new integrated-sector intellectual sphere that includes basic knowledge concerning demography, biology, geography, sociology, psychology, economics, and environmental education. This is not a matter of simply persuading people to practice family planning, and it is not just a matter of sex education, even though information on this is provided as one of the topics of population education. The general target of the population education program is to use educational measures to contribute to implementing the population policy of the party and state. Specifically, the target is to provide people with basic knowledge and capabilities concerning population and the population policy, both short-term and long-term, and through this transform the thinking and behavior of people in implementing the population policy.

Population education is a requirement in reforming education. It is a concrete manifestation of renovation of thinking concerning education and will contribute to tying the national education system more closely to social life and to implementing the educational principles of the party.

During the past 10 years, the experiments and development of population education instruction in many provinces and cities nationwide have shown the following:

Including population education in the school curriculum is correct and necessary. This effectively supports the implementation of the population policies of the party and state. The localities have welcomed this, and the cadres in charge of education and the instructors have responded positively to this.

The contents of population education and the methods used to provide students with knowledge about demography are appropriate, and they have not overloaded the curriculum. This has helped stimulate the interests of the students and enriched the curriculum, and it is related to supporting life.

Population education has brought good results in the sphere of knowledge. The attitude of the students concerning the population problem has begun to change in a positive way, and they have begun implementing the population policy. In the coming stage, population education must be carried on in all the colleges and vocational middle schools as stipulated in Directive 74/CT-TW issued by the Secretariat of the CPV [Communist Party of Vietnam] Central Committee.

Along with the advantages, population education and family planning have also encountered certain difficulties and obstacles, mainly backward ideas and outmoded habits regarding the population problem, ideas and habits that have existed for generations in this society. Thus, population education and family planning are long-term tasks that must be carried on regularly and constantly.

Population education in the schools is above all the work and responsibility of the education and training sector. In this, the educational management cadres and instructors play an important role. However, to achieve the desired results and contribute to implementing the population policies of the party and state, this must be coordinated with other sectors and the mass organizations. Also, the party committee echelons and authorities must give attention to investing in this and create the conditions for implementing this.

The mass media and the various forms of activities such as clubs and cultural centers and cultural and arts and letters activities must have suitable forms of education in order to get all the people to participate.

#### Foreign Goods Competition in Vietnam

923E0008E Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 1, Jan 92 pp 48-50

[Article by Cao Duy Ha, Nguyen Ai Quoc Institute]

[Text] Reality in a number of localities shows that many domestic production and commercial enterprises are afraid of being "destroyed" by the competitive strength of foreign goods. Most of the foreign goods now in circulation on our country's markets are from China, Japan, Thailand, India, and a number of other countries. In many localities, particularly in the border provinces, more than half of the goods in circulation on the markets are foreign goods. Although not true of all foreign goods, many of these foreign goods have great competitive strength with respect to the domestic goods in circulation on the markets, and this is causing many difficulties in expanding the production and circulation of domestic goods and in solving a number of social problems such as unemployment and underemployment among laborers.

In Hanoi, in the past there were about 100 traditional handicrafts production sectors that supplied consumer goods for the entire country. But today, in the face of the competition from foreign goods, many of these have gone bankrupt. In the past, manual workers in the northern and southern provinces had jobs and supplied society with a notable volume of commodities, but now, most of these are helpless because of the encroachment

of foreign goods. Vietnam's manual textile sector once grew quite well and satisfied most of the consumer needs of society, even exporting goods to foreign markets. But today, it has been ruined by the flood of many types of cloth entering the country in a variety of ways.

In general, the manual laborers in our country are now encountering many difficulties. They lack work and do not earn the minimum income needed to live. This is not because they don't want to work but because they can't compete with foreign goods. To be fair, the flood of foreign goods into our country during the past several years has also had a number of positive effects. This has increased supply, made available a greater variety of goods at the markets, reduced the serious conflict between supply and demand, and encouraged many producers and businessmen to renovate their work methods in order to maintain their positions at the markets. However, these positive aspects cannot compensate for the losses suffered by domestic production as a result of the flood of imported goods. But we cannot prevent foreign goods from circulating on our markets just because of this. The problem is that we must implement measures to adjust the relationship with respect to quantities and percentages between domestic and foreign goods in circulation on the markets. This must be done in such a way so as to regain the competitive advantage for domestic goods. To do this, the present competitive conflict between domestic and foreign goods must be resolved.

Why do a number of foreign goods have such great competitive strength as compared with domestic goods? After studying this, I think that the following are the main reasons:

First, labor productivity in the countries that are exporting goods to our markets is higher than productivity here. Thus, their goods cost less than our goods, even after paying the tariffs. According to market laws, low prices are important in creating strength for market competition. As people have observed, the cheap goods produced by the large-scale industries in the capitalist countries are "heavy rounds" with the strength to penetrate the walls of a once feudal society. Thus, each country must implement wise and rational tariff policies in order to ensure that domestic goods have the strength to compete with foreign goods and to use the low-cost foreign goods to support the consumer needs of the markets in the country.

Second, today, many foreign goods are being smuggled into the country. According to reports from a number of border provinces, taxes are collected on only 40-50 percent of the goods brought into the country. Taxes are not collected on most of the goods brought into the country using the non-commercial path. The smuggled goods include good, bad, and even ridiculous items. Because they avoid paying taxes, they can be sold at a very low price and still earn a high profit.

Third, the psychology of many consumers in our country is a "love" for buying imported goods. Many times, the foreign fashions and styles lead them to believe that foreign goods are better than domestic goods. They want to buy only foreign goods and will refuse to buy domestic goods even though the quality of the domestic goods may be better. This "fondness" for using foreign goods has increased the competitive strength of foreign goods.

Fourth, the lax management of the various echelon administrative and judicial organizations and the desire for profits of a number of commercial organizations has opened the door for foreign goods to enter the country in a disorganized and unprincipled manner without thought to social needs or to protecting domestic production.

Fifth, a number of domestic production and commercial enterprises have not made much effort to renovate themselves in order to respond to the markets. In these conditions, many units continue to use the old methods. The goods produced are inferior in quality to that of imported goods. The styles of their goods are very dull, production costs are high, and the goods are sold at a higher price. As a result, consumers are not interested in these goods.

In order to overcome the present conflict between domestic and foreign goods and regain a favorable competitive position for domestic goods, I think that there are many things that must be done simultaneously, but there are three very basic problems that must be solved promptly:

First, resolute administrative control must be implemented with respect to imports. We should import only those goods that cannot be produced domestically and for which there is a real consumer need. In the case of goods that are produced domestically but that cannot be produced in sufficient quantities to satisfy the rational consumer needs of society, these can be imported to make up the deficit. But if the shortages can be made up by other types of goods, this must be done so that foreign goods don't have to be imported. Domestic goods that can be produced in sufficient quantities to satisfy social needs must not be imported. This will encourage the expansion of domestic production and reduce foreign currency expenditures.

The task of importing goods must be centralized in order to facilitate controlling and guiding the importing of goods and to promptly discover any deviations. Any agency, mass organization, or individual who smuggles foreign goods into the country or who fails to import goods in accord with state regulations must be subject to serious economic and administrative punishments.

Second, domestic enterprises that produce goods must actively improve their techniques, improve the quality of their products, improve and vary their styles and models, satisfy the varied tastes of the consumers, and strive to lower production costs so that they can sell their goods at a rational price that will attract many consumers.

In order to improve the quality of the commodities, the key point for most of the production enterprises in our country today is to renovate the technical processes and replace their old and outmoded equipment and machinery. Of course, this means that the enterprises must have a large amount of investment capital. This is not easy for all the enterprises, because at present, up to 80 percent of the commercial production enterprises lack capital. The units must find ways to attract investment capital from various sources. This includes bank loans, share capital, joint capital, capital from customers, foreign capital, and so on. This capital must be used to renovate technology.

Along with this, the enterprises must build ranks of management, technical, and professional cadres equal to the requirements of the technical processes and new technology.

Accurate cost accounting must be practiced in order to economize on labor expenses (both past labor and live labor), and steps must be taken to ensure that the goods produced are of good quality, that production costs are low, and that the goods can be sold at a lower price than foreign goods. This is the leading measures for creating strength to enable domestic goods to compete against foreign goods.

It can be affirmed that if the commodities are of good quality, attractive, and low in price, those are the great" strengths for winning the competitive struggle on the markets. In Vietnam today, there are many goods that will not be able to compete against foreign goods unless their quality is improved and a constant effort is made to improve styles and models in order to satisfy the varied and ever-changing consumer needs. Take foreign cigarettes, for example. Even though the administrative and judicial organizations have made a great effort, these cigarettes continue to circulate on the markets. Consumers continue to buy foreign cigarettes. They don't want to buy domestic cigarettes. This is easy to understand, because domestic cigarettes are of poor quality and they are very expensive (for more than a year now, the price of domestic cigarettes has been skyrocketing). At the same time, the quality of foreign cigarettes is better and prices are good (because of avoiding taxes).

Conversely, on the markets, there are many styles of table fans from China, but they are selling very slowly, because their quality is bad and they quickly break down. But fans produced by the Hanoi Electrical Machinery Plant sell much better than the Chinese fans even though they cost much more. This is the case not only in the cities but also in the rural areas, because through use, the people realize that the quality of the domestically-produced fans is better, and they suit the tastes of Vietnamese.

Clearly, product quality and prices are the decisive factors in gaining a competitive market edge. State protection through the use of tariff and import-export policies is very important, but this cannot give absolute strength to domestic goods in competition with foreign goods.

So that wholesome competition stimulates the growth of the commodity economy and constantly improves quality, monopolization in production and distribution must be overcome. Monopolization always hinders the advance of technology, harms the consumers, and earns huge profits for those who have a monopoly on production or distribution.

Third, the commercial organizations, particularly the state-operated commercial organizations and the marketing cooperatives, that are engaged in commodity circulation tasks must provide prompt and friendly service to the consumers. Based on that, they must wage a campaign and spread propaganda in an effort to get the people to buy good-quality domestic goods that are priced fairly. At the same time, they must accept only good-quality commodities that suit the tastes of the consumers. They must not put poor-quality commodities into circulation, and they must oppose the circulation of bogus goods. They must carry out the tasks that link production and consumption and tie production to consumption.

What is even more important is to enable consumers to see the immediate and long-term benefits of buying domestic goods. In the short term, if every consumer buys domestic goods and either does not buy or buys only few foreign goods, this will enable domestic production to grow and create more jobs for laborers. In the long term, the country will have a developed commodity economy. We will not be dependent on other countries and will be able to participate effectively in the international economic division of labor.

Socioeconomic Problems in the Mountain Regions 923E0008F Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 1, Jan 92 pp 51-53

[Article by Le Dien]

[Text] During the past year, I have traveled to almost every mountainous region in the country, from Dong Van through Quan Hoa, Tra My, and Tra Bong to the Central Highlands. Each region is different with its own unique natural scenery, local culture, and different and varied advantages and difficulties. But every place, to one degree or another, exhibited the following striking features:

The tribesmen now lead a settled life but they still engage in nomadic farming and cut down trees to engage in slash-burn agriculture. This backward way of farming has caused erosion, and the floods and droughts are becoming more and more serious. As the population increases, more forests must be cut down. Thus, poverty is passed on from one generation to the next as if predetermined.

Communications are still undeveloped. The remote roads are dangerous and so the tribesmen have to put up with buying high and selling cheap. Sometimes, they can't sell their agricultural products or livestock. Production is not in line with consumption and so production is slow and their standard of living can't improve.

Science and technology have not yet reached the mountains. The tribesmen still have to use knives and sticks to dig holes and old varieties of upland rice. Because of this, the labor is very hard but the results are poor.

The natural conditions are very harsh and the climate is dangerous. The tribesmen still adhere to outmoded practices such as drinking unboiled water and sleeping without a mosquito net. Added to this is the fact that many of these people are addicted to alcohol and opium. There are many epidemics, with malaria and goiter being very widespread. Having a family member sick costs a family manpower and money, as if that family "had a bad harvest that year."

There are rarely typhoons in the mountain areas, but these areas are frequently hit by floods, droughts, and frost, which ruin the crops. Besides the harmful insects and diseases found in the plains, the rice and subsidiary food crops are also damaged by rats, swarms of locusts, and harmful bugs. Because of this, productivity, which was already low, declines even more.

The birth rate is still too high, 3.2 percent. There is little farm land, and the soil is becoming more and more depleted. Thus, with this high birth rate, it is difficult for people to become prosperous.

Regarding the implementation of Politburo Resolution 22 on the mountain areas, I would like to make several concrete suggestions:

1. The mountainous rural areas can and must be electrified soon.

The leaders in the mountain areas all said that "only by building communications routes and bringing electricity to the mountain areas will it be possible for the mountain areas to renovate. Otherwise, the mountain areas will remain backward." Right after the north was liberated, Binh Lieu District in Quang Ninh Province emphasized coordinating water conservancy with electrification. Between 1961 and the 1980s, the province built 10 small hydroelectric stations. Today, it is building a 375-kw hydroelectric station. Since the border was opened, the rural electrification movement has expanded. The people have purchased almost 1,000 small hydroelectric machines from China. Today, more than half of the households in the district have electric lights and listen to the radio. Every village has four or five milling machines. Soon, the pounding of rice will no longer be heard in the villages in Binh Lieu. At night, in many hamlets, you can see electric lights burning, and the hamlets are lively and more civilized. Electricity has made it possible to improve the people's standard of culture and use science and technology in production. While electricity is essential to the mountain areas, these areas have great hydroelectric potential. I think that the state should guide and help our large machine works in doing studies to manufacture various types of small hydroelectric equipment suited to the situation in the mountain areas. They should sell this equipment at a reasonable price so that the people there can afford to buy them. This will not only benefit economic growth and help improve the lives of the tribesmen but also create jobs for machine workers. At the same time, the Ministry of Energy must send cadres to conduct surveys and evaluate the hydroelectric potential in each mountain region and the inventions of scientists and formulate a mountain area electrification plan that can be implemented by the people and sectors.

2. A system of ethnic minority boarding general schools must be built.

In the highlands, the villages are very dispersed. To get to the village center from the remote hamlets, you have to climb mountains and cross rivers, which takes anywhere from half a day to a full day. Many places have built Level-I general schools in the locality, but because families have much work to do and because they are poor, they don't allow their children to attend school. Or if they do allow them to attend school, the children quit after grade 2 or 3. The main reason for this is that studying culture has not become a pressing need of the people in the mountain areas. Thus, the number of school-age children in school is very small. The number of illiterate people is increasing.

In the face of this situation, many highlands villages have decided to open boarding general schools in the village. The people contribute corn and rice to feed their children. The districts and villages have provided money to build classrooms, dining halls, and sleeping quarters for

the students. The Sung Thai school in Ha Tuyen and the Phu Nhi school in Thanh Hoa are boarding schools from which many children have completed primary general school. A number of children have gone on to general middle schools, vocational middle schools, and colleges and become cadres, teachers, and doctors.

In order to enable hill tribe children in the mountain regions to attend school and make preparations for cadre training on the spot, the state should advocate building boarding general schools in all the highlands villages by having the people and state (including the provinces and districts) contribute funds to build schools, dining halls, and living quarters, and purchase instructional materials, textbooks, and lamp oil.

Every mountain-area district should have a general middle school and an ethnic minority boarding general school. These two schools should be integrated into one to form a boarding general middle school. The state must implement measures to take care of the children until they graduate from general middle school.

There are few highlands areas and mountain districts. If the state sets aside budget funds to build a system of boarding general schools, this will be very beneficial for the country and generate long-term benefits.

#### 3. Family planning must be practiced.

In many places in the mountain areas, the tribesmen continue to procreate in a natural manner. This is because the attitude of attaching more importance to boys than girls is still very prevalent here. Early marriage is still widespread. Girls over 10 years old are already married. Because people die at an early age, they have the feeling that they must have many children so that if an epidemic breaks out, they will still have children to "carry on the lineage." Along with this is the view that their racial group is very small and so they feel that they must have many children in order to expand their race.

In order to reduce the population growth rate, a family planning movement must be carried on resolutely for many years with the cooperation of many sectors and circles. For example:

The Women's Association, the Youth Union, and the Red Cross must organize many discussions and hold short-term classes to disseminate information on raising healthy children, training obedient children, engaging in sanitary ways of living, using mosquito nets to prevent contracting malaria, drinking boiled water and not drinking unboiled water, and not becoming addicted to alcohol and drugs.

The information and cultural sector must quickly start broadcasting radio programs to every place in the mountains, increase broadcasting hours in the languages of the ethnic minority groups, and begin broadcasting television programs in the areas where this is possible. The movie units must show films in the highlands villages. The mobile information units must consider the mountain areas to be the center of their operations.

The public health sector must train many female doctors and nurses for the mountain areas and open family planning centers in the mountain districts.

Teachers in the mountain areas must campaign actively for family planning.

From the provinces to the districts and villages, cadres with ethnic minority backgrounds must set an example concerning family planning, raise healthy children, and teach their children to be obedient.

Each province must build a model district with respect to family planning, and each district must build a model village. This must then be expanded.

I think that if these things are done, the family planning movement in the mountain areas will certainly achieve the desired results.

In trying to solve the problems discussed above, everyone knows that our greatest difficulty today is a lack of capital. But I think that if we rely on the people, try to obtain foreign aid, and reduce unnecessary expenses, we will have enough money to build roads and bring electricity, science, and culture to the mountain regions. Thus, the greatest obstacle is the fact that many cadres in various sectors calculate results in purely economic terms, and their thinking is purely pragmatic in nature. Their motto is "do what is easy first before tackling what is difficult and do what is close at hand before doing things far away." The mountain areas are both difficult and remote and so when will their turn come?

If you are engaged in economic work, calculating the economic results is the correct thing to do. But in a socialist system, economics must always be related to society. There are times when the lives of the people and social interests must be placed above economic interests instead of chasing after economic profits only. The hill tribesmen in many areas are still very poor, and living conditions in these areas are still very difficult. In this situation, the lives of the tribesmen and social interests must be placed ahead of economic results.

#### The World in 1991

00000000 Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 1, Jan 92 pp 54-55, 60

[Article by Phan Doan; not translated]

An America That Many People Don't Know

00000000 Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 2, Jan 92 pp 56-60

[Article by Ngo Ba Thanh; not translated]

No More Milk or Honey in the Future of the Soviet Union

00000000 Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 1, Jan 92 pp 61-62

[Article by Michio Kaku; not translated]

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